[For additional information on tribal "adoption" wherein peasant groups or even individuals were incorporated into the tribal organization under the Bedouin term iktitab, see Categories 563 and 619. For information on laf, the term used to describe the process in which groups graft themselves onto the genealogical tree of a tribe, see Categories 608 and 619.]

CHAPTER III

KINSHIP AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Principles of Social Structure

*613 The division of Bedouin society into groups is explained in terms of certain principles of organization, the most pervasive of these being unilineality or the lineage *613 principle. According to this structural rule, an individual 619 born into a tertiary lineage segment (see Figure 7) automatically becomes a member of each successive and more inclusive group represented by the higher levels of segmentation. The status, rights, and obligations of the individual with respect to other members of the tribe are in this way determined on the basis of kinship. An individual gains political status in the tribe, as a societal unit, only through membership in a tertiary group. Theoretically, group membership is based on birth, but there are certain "legal fictions" which represent exceptions to this rule. In al-Qasr exceptions are rare, but a few do exist. For instance, there is one case of [597] individual adoption, and in another case, a whole tertiary 173 segment was grafted on to a lineage stem. The latter case *613 happened four generations ago when Taram Mighaiwiz of 'Ailit 619 Lazumi adopted Hajj 'Ali "as his brother." The Bedouins say 597 1. [See p.77--Analyst]

173 that in those days it was important "to have men to go to
*613 war; Hajj 'Ali came from the Sinai with many men and wrote
619
•597 his name into the books of Lazumi." Today, in the Lazumi genealogy Hajj 'Ali's name appears as the brother of Taram,
[114] both are claimed as sons of Mighawsiz. This kind of data is difficult to uncover and I may have missed gathering other cases of ideological kinship ties.

*613 The specific unilinear principle which operates in
[191] al-Qasr is partrilineality, common to the Middle Eastern culture area. A corollary principle is the corporate group.
*613 Together, these two rules structure the social world of the
591 individual and effectively define a range of social choices for him. The individual's social relations and social roles are relative to the rights and obligations of the people related to him through his father. In a sense, the social world for the individual in al-Qasr is his father's group and its network of relationships with other similar groups; he would not think of leaving this group of his own free will though, in reality, he could. The Bedouins believe
[181] that a man cannot be happy if he lives with strangers, i.e.,
[829] outside his corporate group. This value holds up today to the extent that a man will expect his son to return to the desert even after his education as a merchant, a government clerk, or an army officer.

Structural differentiation in al-Qasr is not solely

121 residence, cognatic ties, and contractual relations are all
181 seen to be structurally important in early Arabian society.
621
571 Structural differentiation into groups is based on the
171 lineage principle and sustained through "the law of blood-revenge." And it is important to note that the hayy was characterized by a structure of authority, it was "guided in war and on the march by one chief" (Smith 1903:44). The
121 law of blood-revenge as an expression of group rights in rem
621 and a system of mutual protection point up the importance of
571 contractual relations in Bedouin society. Whether or not
675 real blood ties are involved, a contract must be present or there can be no corporate group. Contract legitimizes authority and provides the basis for the lateral extension of the group; it is primary though it functions coordinately with a principle of cognation, residence, adoption, etc. Contractual ties
121 operate outside of kinship at times but will always be validated
621 by it eventually, "for a legal fiction is always adopted to
571 reconcile an act with a principle too firmly established to
675 be simply ignored" (Smith 1903:62). "Blood brothers," in
608 al-Qasr, are defined both biologically and ideologically. As
•597 noted in the case of al-Qasr, there were at least three cases
[602] of contractual adoption in which one individual and two whole corporate groups "wrote their names into the books of the 'Aishaibat tribe" (katab jinnsiyya 'Aishaibiyya). The integration or adoption of elements in al-Qasr takes place on the

basis of an agreement "to share the good and the bad" by all parties concerned. Once the integration is effected, patrilineal ideology and legal fiction succeed in concealing the jointure.

The concept which derives from ancient Arabia, and which expresses fully the structural principles of Bedouin society is that of 'aqila. The 'aqila, in al-Qasr, is the head of the corporate group, the tertiary unit or bait. A person becomes part of the Bedouin jural body when he reaches the age of 15, begins to keep the Ramadan fast, and is expected to pay his share of the blood-money. At this time, a man acquires rights over his corporate lineage-mates and they over him: they claim a share in the indemnity ("blood-money" - diiya) of each other, and are under obligation to contribute equal shares to any diiya which becomes due from the group as a whole. Further, each corporate member is morally bound to support his lineage-mates by swearing the oath (yamiin) on the behalf of any who are accused of falsehoods in the course of litigation. All of these rights and obligations are guaranteed by the presence of an 'aqila.

The tertiary bait is the minimal corporate group. It usually includes three to five generations of members. Tertiary units which are descended from a common ancestor combine through contractual relations into the maximal corporate group, the secondary unit or 'aiela. Beyond the secondary level

structural deterioration. Secession, the right to break authority relations, and adoption, the right to contract new authority relations, are rights of the authority group. This can be noted in the "Declaration of Barawwa" presented earlier. It was stated in that document that "the reason for the coming together of these two parties is in order to ask the barawwa from each other." Further, mention was made of a "fraternity paper" which would cancel the effects of the barawwa. So, secession can be a means of regulating conflict, and it can become the basis for a re-integrative move; that is, an adopted party may decide to secede from its foster lineage and return to its original lineage, or secondary group.

Secession, as distinct from segmentary fission as a response to ecological demands, represents a structural change in authority relations short of distrubing the structure of the secondary group. In a process of secession, i.e., breaking with the secondary group, joining a new secondary group, and returning to the "blood-brother" group, the fundamental condition of "belonging" is the acceptance of collective responsibility. This is a most important point. The office of 'aqila, the Bedouin charters, and the raison d'etre of the corporation revolves about the notion of sharing in the blood-money. This can be shown by an extremely interesting document belonging to 'Ailit Abu Qarasa of al-Qasr. Here the process

613 619 173 551 The two charts show the same unit of Awlad Mansour. The first of the two charts shows the tribal segments in which Eilat Gedaida (a female name) appears as one of the segments. When the actual genealogical chart of one of the living members of that segment was drawn, descent was traced to Mohammed, the husband of Gedaida, as shown on the second chart. In this case Gedaida is not a member of Awald Mansour segment. The unity of the full brothers is emphasized without changing the affiliation of the segment. It is simply a means of carrying on the patriline using the mother's name. This is not always the case, however. Examination of other cases in which the female name was used reveals the fact that in certain instances using the female name is a means of carrying on the line of descent through a daughter. This meant incorporating within the tribal segment a whole group of individuals who otherwise would have belonged to a different patriline. Carrying the line through 613 619 551 597 the daughter in this manner has the same result as adopting her husband unto the tribe. The question then is why wasn't adoption used. Examination of the two cases in which this happened indicates that a possible explanation may be that this occurs whenever the husband is unadoptable. Adoption is possible whenever a man does not have any tribal affiliation. 613 619 551 597 554 In one of the two cases the husband belonged to the Gemei'at tribe, a Murabiteen tribe which enjoys a relatively higher status than the other Murabiteen tribes by virtue of their being the original settlers of the area and helping the Awald Ali in their fight with the Hanadi, yet compared to Awlad Ali proper occupies an inferior position. In this case, relating to the patriline of the mother carried with it a

613 definite political advantage. In the second case in which the female
619 name was used, the husband was a member of the Bara'asa tribe of Libya.
551 Although this tribe is one the powerful tribes of Libya, it has no
597 political influence in the Egyptian Western Desert. Changing affilia-
554 tion carried with it the strong political support of the mother's tribal segment.

619 In general the Reds occupy the western half of the coastal area of
131 the Western Desert from the town of Matruh westward to the Libyan border, while the Whites occupy the eastern part which stretches to Alexandria. The Senenah are fairly scattered although their largest concentration is located in the extreme western part overlapping that of the Reds. The territorial division of the area among the three major sections of Awlad Ali is not a strict one. Historical evidence shows that there has been
[194] a considerable tribal displacement throughout the area. This displacement occurred mainly during the intratribal war era and during the Second World War when the area was a main battlefield. In general, however, there is a significant relationship between territorial distribution and tribal segmentation, and this is especially true on the higher levels of segmentation than on the lower ones.

619 Each of the three sections of the apex of a three-tiered order of
613 segments which, following the native usage, will be called Kabila (tribe), Eila (family), and Bait (house).

619 The first order referred to as tribes are structurally equivalent
193 units but of highly variable size. Each of them has its traditional history. Some of these histories are important to the tribe as a whole.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

There are, in Cyrenaica, three major status groups among the tribes: the noble or free-born tribesmen (*al-Hurr*), those who have been adopted or grafted on to a tribe (the *Laff*), and the clients (*Marabtin*).

Those who claim to be free-born also claim ownership of the natural resources. The *Laff* do not own these. They are people thought not to have originally been of the lineage of the tribe with which they are resident. They are found sometimes in ones and twos in the camps of the free-born, but sometimes constituting tertiary groups themselves. Now when such people have resided with their free-born hosts for several years and one of them has married one of the host's daughters, they are grafted to the genealogy at the point of tertiary segmentation, that is, where ambiguity occurs in the genealogy. Obviously, persons thus grafted to the lineage cannot be shown as descendants of one of the living or of the recently dead, remembered perhaps by some of the elders still living. It is equally true to say that they cannot be grafted to the lineage at a point superior to that of the tertiary segments, since this would involve recognition by a number of tertiary groups whose members may know little or nothing about them. When a person enters a new tribe, the only way in which he can do so is to go to live in a camp, and it is the concern of the people of that particular camp whether or not they accept him, since it is they who have to decide whether their resources are sufficient to support a newcomer. Once a man has been accepted as a full member of a tertiary section, membership of superior tribal sections is automatic, although to enter into tribal membership he requires the permission of members of a tertiary section only. To graft at a point superior to the tertiary would be the same as giving a man superior structural status, but without a camp in which to dwell. There is only one place for his incorporation, and that is where the ambiguity in the genealogy permits manipulation to include new lines. In this way the adoption of a person into a lineage does not offend the sense of kinship of the receiving group since the point of inclusion is an ancestor about whom little or nothing is known and whose authenticity is frequently doubted by some. What has been referred to as an area of ambiguity is, moreover, something of a jumble of names, and it is not a difficult matter, if a new line has to be